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Material on personality traits and analyses of tests designed to measure personality will be found in category 116, pp. 548-563, 567-587, 591-608, 614-615, 622, 624-625, 627-632, 634.

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861 you cry." This was true for tears provoked by fright as well as by
865 other causes, when comforting and reassuring the child might seem more pertinent.

855 Again, this system appears more clearly in an older age group (see
865 Chapter 5), but the pattern is set in early childhood. It is customary, for instance, to prod and tug at toddlers in a good-natured and affectionate fashion. One favorite form of such handling is to tug the penes of small boys and to poke fingers or arrows into their distended abdomens or in the direction of their crotches. Under such treatment a child often becomes mildly irritable and aggressive, but any show of temper on his part is greeted with laughter and encouragement in the form of recommendations like "Hit him!" "Kill him!" This encouragement to indulge in physical violence is as inappropriate a form of training for adult life, especially for boys, as can well be imagined. Physical
[157] violence in adult men is one of the most dreaded forms of behavior, since it can have widespread repercussions upon the safety, as well as upon the financial resources, of the whole community.

865 The foregoing might lead one to expect a considerable amount of hitting and scuffling among young children. Actually it is relatively rare. When small children come into conflict, usually over food or some possession either seized or not shared, the commonest form of aggressive assertion is a slyly administered pinch, in which a bit of flesh is caught between the nails of the thumb and forefinger and then twisted. The aggressor usually takes to his heels after such an attack. This behavior is probably the result of parental training. A child who strikes other children will be slapped in return by his adult kin, so that even small children learn very soon to resort to subterfuge.

855 Frightening children is also a favorite device, used especially by adults who are not the child's most immediate kin. For instance, a five-year-old boy was watching a mechanical toy roll toward him on my verandah. He watched with the greatest interest and calm until a young man began yelling excitedly at him, saying it would bite. The older children joined in the yelling, all of which sent the child into a spasm of fear that amused the group highly. Constant threats, accompanied by the brandishing of a knife, are made to cut off children's ears or hands. The adult is playful in his intentions, but some children are seriously frightened by this form of teasing. Children who cry persistently are
[865] frightened with bogeyman characters called Kwokamaug Berka (bad cat of Kwo), Maniakani (black Mani), and Padahavelulua. The usual phrase employed is, "If you are not careful, Padahavelulua will come and hit you."

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865 This anecdote illustrates nicely that obedience is expected and that
155 disobedience will be punished. However, the child is not completely helpless in the face of what it considers ill treatment. The possibility of running away or of appealing to other kin in the face of difficulties is one that persists in adulthood. It undoubtedly has much to do with the
182 flexibility and instability of group formations and residence in a society
571 that theoretically rests upon the solidarity of near kin and their ability to function economically and ceremonially. It can result in some cases, of which Mangma is one (see his autobiography), in extreme fluidity of residence and opportunism in relationships. In other words, a system of child training can set up behavior patterns that contribute to the disruption of formal social structure and create a considerable gap between theory and practice in community life.

STATUS

157 It was suggested earlier in this chapter that boys might well derive a
858 sense of being undervalued from the lack of provision for feeding them and from the fact that they are given less desirable portions of meat. Teasing and ridicule as well as the casual treatment of children's property are additional avenues for a child's acquisition of a sense of unworthiness. As far as boys are concerned this is to be balanced against the fact that, in comparison with girls, they have fewer duties and hold a relatively privileged position. The situation can be summarized by stating that compared with men, boys are underprivileged, but compared with girls, and even women, they are not.

858 However, these are not the only situations in which a child is made to feel his status. Sometimes contemptuously and sometimes as a matter of fact, adults say, "He is only a child; he doesn't think yet." A comparable comment is, "He hasn't a heart yet." *Heart* is really the equivalent of "within him," so that this is a way of saying that the child is still empty, a person without content. Perhaps one of the most telling bits of evidence for the status of the child in the minds of adults is that to call an adult a child (*moku*) is a great insult, because, as it was explained to me, it is the same as saying that the person knows nothing, has nothing, and is in general a poor person of no substance.

851 Balanced against all these factors that may lead a child to acquire a
885 sense of unworthiness are certain other tendencies that might serve to enhance the child's sense of importance. In the following chapter it is pointed out that a man does not acquire adult status until he has children. This is not the sole criterion of full status for a man but it is an important one. Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as

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764 stench of the body. Delays are usually caused by financial dickerings between lineal kin and the Male Houses.

Once the actual burial gets under way there is an outburst of wailing and a din of beaten gongs. This lasts for the half-hour to an hour that it takes four or six buriers to dig the grave, flex and wrap the corpse, and toss it hastily into the grave, which they fill rapidly. The whole procedure is carried out in an atmosphere of excited tension. Burials accompanied by large financial displays are among the rare events from which children are chased away (often quite ineffectually) because such displays are considered something deleterious and contaminating. When the body is dropped into the grave, the spouse, standing off at some distance, chops a string in two. This symbolically severs their relationship and prevents the ghost's returning for him. The rite, however, is not immediately reassuring since for two or three months after burial the spouse will still carry an unsheathed knife wherever he goes. "They do this until they forget"—which is a measure, perhaps, of the duration of grief.

157 I do not wish to imply that there is no grief, or even that it is slight.
764 I have seen genuine and undoubtedly deeply felt grief at death; but my
571 impression, gathered from a considerable range of material, is in agreement with that from quite other realms of human relationship—that there is no premium on cherishing sentimental ties once they are irrelevant. Expediency and realism are the determinants. People will be concerned over the illness of a kinsman but, once he is dead, they go on to other things. A woman, well-liked in the community, died and her "sisters" wept two hours for her, but then became engrossed in other duties. A mother who lost her third infant in succession was deeply grieved but in twenty-four hours was preoccupied once more by her quarrels with her husband and by her field work. When I bought the crop of the field on which my house was to be built, the woman who owned the field wept. A year later I had the opportunity to ask her about it, and she said in a matter-of-fact fashion, "My twelve-year-old daughter planted that field, and she died just two or three months before you came. When I saw her crop being pulled up, my heart remembered and I cried. But now I don't think of it any more." The expediency and realism in human relationships is basically a shallowness of positive affect.

Balanced against this, enough has been said in other connections to make it clear that the dead are sources of malignant power, i.e., negative
[152] affect. That death feasts may be delayed so long is perhaps a sign that negative affect is also shallow. Certainly by comparison with some

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mouth instead of giving food may just possibly be considered fantasies centering on infantile feeding experiences.

GOOD BEINGS

The motif of revivification by spilling food on a corpse is poorly developed in these speculations by Rilpada. It is, however, one of the most persistent myth motifs, especially in myths dealing with Good Beings (*nala kang;* literally, something good). They inhabit villages above in the sky or below in the sea. There seems to be no relation between their place of residence and the abodes of the dead. Around these beings are woven the most numerous and elaborate myths and they are an ever-present reality. The murder of the radjah in 1918 was precipitated by his followers' disrespectful treatment of a woman who had established herself in the minds of her fellow villagers as a Good Being.

In 1929 Malelaka had the Five Villages at a high pitch of excitement over his predictions of the imminent arrival of these supernaturals. In one day two small guesthouses were erected, an area was cleared and fenced, and in addition two stone basins were made into which would flow upon the arrival of the Good Beings two miraculous streams. In one the old could bathe and be rejuvenated; in the other, people would be healed of their illnesses. Death would disappear and death feasts were to be discontinued. Meanwhile people were to abstain from such foods as eels, crayfish, crabs, and fish. For some six recent prophets on whom there is material these ideas remain fairly constant. The interesting thing about the ideas are the fantasies they express—the desires to escape death, illness, and death feasts. The conflicts that this last prophecy created in Malelaka are reflected in his autobiography, which was given at the time when his Good Being speculations were once more active.

That such wishful thinking was not limited to Malelaka and his fellow prophets is evinced by the cooperation they received in preparing for these supernaturals. People from many surrounding villages were sufficiently credulous to bring their sick to the expected advent. There was in fact so much excited interest that the government sent up the full garrison of troops to destroy the structures and arrest Malelaka. This interference plus the disastrous war of 1918 led to the growth of a good deal of scepticism, and the tentative Good Being talk current in 1938 and 1939 was meeting with much incredulity. The inclination to abandon what has been a failure seems to me a consistent part of the nonfanatical and realistic temperament of Atimelangers. They are far

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157 from lacking in stubborn persistence, but when an issue has been definitely defeated, they are ready to give it up.

776 Good Beings are thought of as human in every respect except for their miraculous powers, among which is their ability to revive the dead and to travel through air and water. Human beings who disappear are often suspected of having become supernaturals of this sort. About 1933 four young men were drowned when a boat capsized near the coast. Only three bodies were recovered. In 1938 it was believed in some circles [775] that the one whose body had not been found was now a Good Being and was inspiring the prophecies of a five- or six-year-old girl (page 77ff.). This motif of people's disappearing rather than really dying, and [773] then being transformed into Good Beings is quite common in the myths.

To give an idea of the types of Good Being and their surroundings myths follow.

Maisinghai and Dry Land Woman

773 Maisinghai went to the coast with his six brothers, who deserted him there. He went to sleep so hungry that he chewed the fringe of his shawl. As he slept his mother and father appeared to him and told him how to get food and how to avoid a village of cannibals on his journeys. When Maisinghai awoke he followed his father's instructions and reached the village boundary of Farik, a Good Being. Farik's two daughters met him and reported to their father that the stranger resembled him. Farik, fully armed, went to meet Maisinghai and was convinced of his good intentions. He invited the young man to sit on his verandah and ordered his daughters to prepare food. When it was ready Maisinghai was asked to enter the house. As he climbed the ladder, the sisters poured a pot of millet on his head, and he fell back on the verandah, shedding his shroud, burial rope, and maggots. The sisters covered his body with a shawl and the older one sat near his buttocks, blowing on them with a fire tube. The younger sister sat at his head, fanning him with a fire fan. When Maisinghai awoke, the two girls fed him, and Farik ordered Maisinghai to sleep that night between the two women. Maisinghai was obedient but did not have intercourse with them, saying, "You two are good. I am fortunate to have met you, but, my sisters, I shall not embrace you." The girls reported this to Farik, who then ordered Maisinghai to have intercourse with them.

The three thereafter worked together in the fields. After a time the two wives discovered that Maisinghai was not working, but instead stood crying all day at a hole which he had made when uprooting weeds

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than hardheaded, practical devices for safeguarding property. Coconut trees are banded with sharp, downward-projecting bamboo collars which require considerable time and effort to take off. They are purely mechanical guards intended to delay a thief long enough so that the owner will have a chance to discover him.

Ripening crops, particularly those in more remote fields, are guarded by the owner himself, who will not hesitate to shoot night marauders. Many houses have a trap door at the head of the entrance ladder, which can be closed at night. Casual and unintencional entrance into a deserted house is discouraged by a lacework of green branches, which serves as a sort of "no trespass" sign. This prevents an intruder from pleading innocence should he be seen entering a house. All these very practical protections, which are used just as frequently as the supernatural ones, suggest that the Atimelangers does not rely to any great extent on supernaturalism for protection or vengeance against human beings. This does not mean that supernatural beings cannot protect or harm a human, but that human beings do not employ supernaturalism against one another to the extent that peoples in some other areas do. To be efficacious a system of automatically functioning curses would require a population whose sanctions were weighted more on the side of guilt than of shame. That curses are so casually treated bears once more on the point previously made that there is no very marked internalization of moral strictures. That curses are so impersonal causes one to suspect that the negative aspects of personal relationships may be as casual and shallow as the positive ones have been diagnosed as being. In the overgeneralized phraseology sometimes used one might say that modal personality in Atimelang does not have a paranoid trend.

In this connection also, people's relationships to a whole variety of evil spirits (*kari, lokw*), wealth-bringing spirits (*nera*), and familiar spirits (*nimang*) are in many instances casual and expedient. Every individual has one or more of these spirits whom he should placate. With the exception of a few specialists, like seers and prophets of the type described in Rilpada's and Maleluka's autobiographies, people ignore supernatural relationships until some misfortune occurs or some service is required. For instance, the village guardian spirit (*alemal*) of Atimelang had had no carvings and sacrifices made for it in about sixteen years. In 1938 two others of the Five Villages made the proper sacrifices. This, combined with my obvious interest, finally led the Atimelangers to perform the ritual that theoretically should be performed every year or two. Similarly, men will completely ignore for many years the supernatural beings they have inherited from their parents until some mishap

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or undertaking reminds them that an image should be carved and fed. It was said previously in connection with skills that the carvings of such spirits are usually crudely done, and after the sacrifices they are ignored and often allowed to rot away.

CONCLUSIONS

The attitude toward carvings might lead some people to the generalization that the Atimelangers' attitude is spiritual rather than materialistic, that they worship the essence and not the substance. When we look at all the evidence presented to date, a preferable interpretation might be that the Atimelangers are as exploitative in their relationship to the supernatural as they are to humans and that only a threat of danger makes them piacatory.

A linguistic hint concerning their attitude toward supernatural beings may be contained in the generic term for them, good-bad (*kang-berke*), which suggests a parallel to the positive-negative aspects of human relationships. If we consider all supernaturalism as projections of the current attitudes of a group of people plus varying amounts of wishful thinking, we have in the foregoing description of religion an epitome of the modal personality of Atimelang. It is as though the group itself gave us in its religious beliefs and practices at least a clue to those generalizations about personality for which we are searching. Again, this generalization must not be interpreted as characterizing all Atimelangers. Maleiaka's autobiography and dreams, and to a lesser extent Rilpada's, indicate that there are individuals who use the concepts of the supernatural for purposes of projecting all their desires for nurturing and solicitous relationships. They call their familiar spirits "friends" and consider them the sources of advice, gifts, and power. In Atimelang I suspect that these are the people who more than any others serve to keep alive religious activities and speculations.

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853 no new situations are encountered. What we will see henceforth is
merely the working through of the old constellations in relation to the
social goal of status.

857 It is the answer to the question, "What do I think of myself?" that
859 can supply us with some information about the source from which the
quest for prestige derives its motive power. The wish to be equal to,
or better than, another is really a reflection of an internal need to think
well of oneself. In this regard the Alorese quest for prestige has a very
strong internal function, since at no time in the life cycle of the in-
dividual does he have the opportunity to think highly of himself. The
male especially emerges into adulthood with a profound feeling of un-
worthiness. It would be reasonable to expect therefore in the male
strongly repressed predatory trends, which would be less marked in the
female. To bear this out it was observed that within limits it is the men
who steal and ask for presents, the women do not. Women return gifts;
men do not. Women share with others; men do not. The father is the
chief beneficiary of the bride-price dealings, the mother much less so.
The men seek compensations in dress and regalia; the women do not.
The sensitivity to personal defects, that is, the touchiness, may be ex-
aggerated in the men as compared with the women. It is the male who
is predominantly mortified to have any derogatory epithet leveled at
him. The men eat first when guests are present, and the women eat
later. Every opportunity is exercised by men, both through the rights
over children and through chicanery, to cancel out the deep feeling of
unworthiness.

854 The role of money is therefore an important factor in the effort to
856 establish security. Interestingly enough the wealth quest is not in the
form of an actual accumulation of gongs and trinkets. Emphasis falls
rather on the fact that money gives one control over others, and this is
what really tells the story. A lien upon another person means that you
can at your will convert him into a giver. The inability to control the
857 mother was the most signal defeat of childhood. If we can allocate this
857 defeat to any zone, it is really to an oral one, for it is accompanied by
241 intense feelings of greed and envy. The general ringiness about food
is evidently derived from oral frustrations, a fact which is strongly
supported by the consideration that there is no coercive anal training
in childhood.

535 The accumulation of wealth is obviously not free of dangers. The
536 fact that large displays of wealth are thought to cause illness, which in
571 turn can be remedied by giving a feast, indicates the anxiety that at-
tends the accumulation of wealth, because it means that the individual